

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

DRC-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

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SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 /149 W

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O P 131523Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 555

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS PRIORITY 26

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY LISBON UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9376

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: POLISH STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 13,
1973 PLENARY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: TEXT OF STATEMENT (UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION) OF
THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) AT 13 NOVEMBER PLENARY FOLLOWS. END
SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT

MR. CHAIRMAN,

THE OPENING DEBATE PERMITTED EACH PARTICIPANT OF THESE
TALKS TO PRESENT HIS GENERAL CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THE SUB-
JECT OF MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL
EUROPE, AND TO INDICATE THE POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY RE-
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ALITIES IN WHICH WE ARE TO NEGOTIATE. SOME DELEGATIONS SEIZED
THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR PROVIDING US WITH AN EXTENSIVE INTERPRET-
ATION OF THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF COMMONLY AGREED GOAL OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS WHICH IS "TO CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATION-

SHIP AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE",

WE HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED ALL THE INTERVENTIONS IN THE DEBATES MADE SO FAR, INCLUDING THE RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UNITED KINGDOM. WE HAVE STUDIED THEM IN ORDER TO SEARCH FOR ELEMENTS WHICH WILL HELP US TO FIND COMMON GROUND FOR WORKING OUT IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT PRACTICAL AND MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO THE INTRICATE PROBLEMS OF REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

IT IS WITH THIS CRITERION IN MIND THAT WE HAVE LISTENED TO THE STATEMENTS OF OUR WESTERN COLLEAGUES WHICH REFERRED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH TO THE SO-CALLED DISPARITIES IN MILITARY POTENTIALS OF THE NATO AND WARSAW TREATY STATES. THERE WERE ALSO SOME GENERALISATIONS CONCERNING OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPECTIVE ARMIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

WITHOUT GOING INTO A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THESE ARGUMENTS WE WOULD LIKE TO OBSERVE THAT IT IS QUITE EASY TO SPEAK ABOUT DISPARITIES IF ONE OR SEVERAL PARTICULAR ELEMENTS ARE SINGLED OUT AS A BASIS FOR CONSIDERATION. ONCE SUCH A METHOD IS CHOSEN IT IS NATURAL THAT ONLY VIEW OF THE PICTURE AND OF THE DISPARITIES IN IT IS DETERMINED BY THE ANGLE AT WHICH HE SEES THE SITUATION. IT CAN HARDLY BE OBJECTIVE. FOLLOWING THIS METHOD IT WOULD BE VERY EASY FOR US, TOO, TO ELABORATE ON SOME COMPONENTS OF MILITARY CAPABILITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHILE OVERLOOKING OTHER. WE CERTAINLY HAVE OUR FIRM AND WELL KNOWN VIEW AS TO WHAT IS OFFENSIVE.

THE POTENTIAL OF A STATE OR OF AN ALLIANCE, AS IS WELL KNOWN, IS DETERMINED NOT ONLY BY A NUMBER OF MEN IN ACTIVE SERVICE AND THE WEAPON SYSTEMS AT THEIR DISPOSAL, BUT ALSO BY SUCH FACTORS AS THE GENERAL SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC AND MILITARY INFRASTRUCTURE, THE DEMOGRAPHIC POTENTIAL, THE TRAINED RESERVES AND, NATURALLY, THE AVAILABILITY OF BUDGETARY RESOURCES.
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IT IS ALSO NOT DIFFICULT TO CHOOSE A SET OF ARGUMENTS ON THE STRENGTH AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LINKS THAT A PART OF CENTRAL EUROPE HAS WITH OTHER AREAS WITHIN THE SPHERE OF OPERATION OF A PARTICULAR ALLIANCE.

IN OTHER WORDS, ON OUR SIDE THERE IS NO LACK OF OBJECTIVE FOUNDATIONS AND THERE WOULD CERTAINLY BE NO DISPARITY CONCERNING OUR RESOURCEFULNESS TO SPEAK ABOUT DISPARITIES.

HOWEVER, ONE MAY ASK WHETHER THE VERY METHOD OF THIS REASONING IS CONDUCIVE TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE TODAY WE HAVE A MILITARY SITUATION, AS IT HAS BEEN SHAPED FOR MANY YEARS. IT REFLECTS A CERTAIN

RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES, WHICH FOR ALL THESE YEARS HAS PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY.

WE HAVE COME TO A COMMON CONCLUSION THIS THIS MILITARY SITUATION CAN BY IMPROVED BY LOWERING THE LEVELS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THIS AREA WHERE THE CONCENTRATION OF MILITARY MIGHT IS THE HIGHEST AND THAT WE SHOULD TRY TO ACHIEVE IT WHILE SEEING TO IT THAT THE SECURITY OF ANY PARTY SHALL NOT BE DIMINISHED.

WE FIND THIS COINCIDENCE OF VIEWS UNIQUE IN POST-WAR EUROPEAN HISTORY, GIVING US A CHANCE TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE POSITIVE RESULTS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE SINCERELY INTERESTED AND PREPARED TO SCALE DOWN THE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE ON A MUTUALLY AGREEABLE BASIS. OF COURSE, IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT DOING THAT THEY MUST BE ASSURED THAT THEIR SECURITY IS NOT BEING DECREASED BECAUSE OTHER PARTICIPANTS OF THE REDUCTION AGREEMENT ARE GETTING ONE-SIDED ADVANTAGES. THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, ON THEIR PART, DO NOT SEEK SUCH ADVANTAGES.

THUS THE APPROACH WHICH SETS OUT ITSELF AS A MOST PRACTICAL AND A MOST PROMISING AT THE SAME TIME, IS TO PROCEED FROM THE MILITARY SITUATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AS IT EXISTS, I.E. INCLUDING ALL THE COMPONENTS OF OUR RESPECTIVE MILITARY POTENTIALS, AND TEND TO REDUCE ALL OF THEM WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES. THIS IS AN HONEST AND CONFIDENTIAL

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REALISTIC APPROACH.

PROCEEDING FROM THIS APPROACH AND DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE MORE CONCRETE THE DISCUSSION IS, THE MORE PRODUCTIVE WILL BE ITS RESULTS, THE 4 DELEGATIONS OF THE SOCIATIST STATES TABLED THE FRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE USSR, AMBASSADOR KHLESTOV, HAS ALREADY GIVEN AN EXTENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE MAJOR POINTS OF THE DRAFT AND STRESSED ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE PRESENT REALITIES OF EUROPE.

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O P 131523Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 556

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS PRIORITY 27

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY LISBON UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9376

FROM US REP MBFR

I SHOULD NOW LIKE TO ELABORATE ON SOME PARTS OF THIS
DRAFT, ITS ARTICLES 1 AND 2 IN PARTICULAR.

I HAVE ALREADY POINTED OUT TO THE NEED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF ELEMENTS THAT CONSTITUTE THE MILITARY
POTENTIAL IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND
EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON REDUCTION. ARTICLES 1 AND 2 FULLY RESPOND
TO THAT NEED.

ARTICLE 1 STIPULATES THAT BOTH FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES
AS WELL AS ARMAMENTS ARE TO BE SUBJECT TO REDUCTION, THE UNDER-
STANDING BEING THAT BOTH THESE COMPONENTS ARE EQUALLY AFFECTED
FROM THE VERY BEGINNING AND THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE PROGRAMME OF
MUTUAL REDUCTIONS. THIS, INDEED, IS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
PROVISION. NOBODY CAN DENY THAT BOTH THESE COMPONENTS ARE
EQUALLY ESSENTIAL FOR THE MILITARY SET-UP IN CENTRAL EUROPE.
TAKEN TOGETHER THEY MAKE UP FOR THE RESPECTIVE POTENTIALS, WHICH
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ARE THE SUBJECT MATTER OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

REDUCING BUT ONE COMPONENT, E.G. THE FOREIGN FORCES AND
ARMAMENTS ALONE, COULD NOT BRING THE RESULTS THAT CAN BE RE-
GARDED MEANINGFUL ENOUGH. SUCH IS THE CONSIDERED VIEW OF THE
SPONSORS OF THE DRAFT. THE REASONS FOR THAT VIEW ARE NUMEROUS:
MILITARY AS WELL AS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, EVEN PSYCHO-
LOGICAL. TO BE MORE SPECIFIC I SHALL EXPLAIN IN A MORE DETAILED
WAY HOW POLAND LOOKS AT THIS QUESTION.

OUR COUNTRY - AS WE HAVE MORE THAN ONCE STATED - IS DEEPLY
INTERESTED IN THE SUCCESS OF THESE TALKS. WE REALIZE THEIR
IMPORTANCE FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL SITUATION IN EUROPE.
WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN THE FUTURE AGREEMENT AN INSTRUMENT
TO STOP AND PREVENT THE ARMAMENTS RACE ON OUR CONTINENT WHICH
HAS BEEN A BURDEN TO ALL. MORE THAN THAT, WE WISH TO RELEASE

SOME RESOURCES FOR A SPEEDIER ECONOMIC GROWTH. IN VIEW OF ALL THESE EXPECTATIONS A REDUCTION IN THE POLISH ARMY BY A FEW THOUSAND MEN AND CORRESPONDING QUANTITIES OF ARMS AND EQUIPMENT ALREADY IN THE FIRST PHASE OF SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS, AS PROPOSED IN THE 4-POWER DRAFT, WOULD REPRESENT TO US A CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT THE PROCESS OF REDUCTION HAS ACTUALLY BEGUN. THE WEIGHT OF THE SUBSEQUENT REDUCTIONS IS EVEN MORE EVIDENT.

BUT, OF COURSE, THE REDUCTION IS TO BE A MUTUAL EXERCISE. THE VERY FUNDAMENTAL SENSE OF SECURITY BIDS US TO PROCEED WITH SUCH STEPS, TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES, ONLY IF WE ARE PERFECTLY SATISFIED THAT THERE IS A CORRESPONDING REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS BY ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE AGREEMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR, BY THESE POWERS WHOSE FORCES WE CONSIDER TO BEAR IMPACT ON OUR SECURITY SITUATION. JUST AS ON OUR SIDE WE DO NOT ENVISAGE A REDUCTION WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF POLAND, SO ALSO WE DO NOT VISUALIZE A REDUCTION WHICH WOULD NOT COMPRISE - FOR INSTANCE - THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, BELGIUM OR THE NETHERLANDS. NATURALLY, SUCH A REDUCTION SHOULD BE EFFECTED ALONG WITH THE REDUCTION OF FOREIGN TROOPS BY WHICH WE MEAN TROOPS OF ALL PARTICIPANTS STATIONED WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTION ON THE TERRITORY OTHER THAN THEIR NATIONAL TERRITORY.

THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE 1 AND 2. THEY TAKE WELL INTO CONSIDERATION
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THE FACT THAT ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS OF VARIOUS PARTIES OF THE FUTURE REDUCTIONS HAVE DIFFERENT NUMERICAL AND QUALITATIVE CHARACTERISTICS. THEREFORE, AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE OF REDUCTION IS ENVISAGED FOR THEM ALL. THIS IS A SIMPLE AND WORKABLE METHOD ALSO FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF ITS APPLICABILITY TO A VARIETY OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE ARMIES, LET US SAY OF POLAND AND BELGIUM WILL BE CUT DOWN THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF THE SAME OBJECTIVE CRITERION. THE METHOD OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE-WISE CUTS PERMITS EVERY PARTICIPANT OF THE AGREEMENT TO DECREASE HIS MILITARY POTENTIAL WITHOUT A FEAR THAT HE IS DOING MORE THAN OTHERS IN THIS RESPECT. THIS PERMITS TO ELIMINATE A RISK OF DIMINISHING ANY ONE'S SECURITY.

SIMULTANEOUS CARRYING OUT OF PROPORTIONATE REDUCTIONS IN THE AGREED AREA OF THE SEVEN COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL EUROPE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL ELEVEN STATES WILL ALSO HAVE A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT ON EUROPE. IT WILL DEMONSTRATE TO THE PUBLIC OPINION OF OUR COUNTRIES AND OF ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS THE WILLINGNESS AND THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE ALL APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION. IT WILL THUS ENHANCE THE FAVOURABLE POLITICAL CLIMATE FOR OUR ENDEAVOUR.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT PROPOSITION CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, PARTICULARLY IN ITS ARTICLE 2, WHICH REFLECT OUR CONCEPT OF THE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS. I REFER TO THE PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE INCLUSION INTO THE PROGRAMME OF REDUCTIONS ENVISAGED FOR 1975-77 OF THE WHOLE RANGE OF FORCES AND WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHICH APPEAR IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THESE, ACCORDING TO ARTICLE 2 OF THE DRAFT, COMPRISE BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS, INCLUDING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ALL PARTICIPANTS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE CONCERN THAT POLAND HAS CONTINUOUSLY BEEN EXPRESSING WITH REGARD TO THE CONCENTRATION OF THE MOST DEADLY WEAPONS IN THE AREA. THAT IS WHY WE WISH TO EMPHASIZE THE NECESSITY TO INCLUDE THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE REDUCTION PROGRAMME.

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THE APPROACH UNDERLYING THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 2 IS BASED ON A REALISTIC COGNIZANCE OF THE PRESENT MILITARY SET-UP IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WE ALL, NO DOUBT, REALIZE THAT CONFINING A REDUCTION AGREEMENT TO ONE PARTICULAR KIND OF FORCES - HOWEVER ITS IMPORTANCE MAY BE STRESSED BY SOME PARTICIPANTS - IS HARDLY POSSIBLE.

INSTEAD, WE SUGGEST A RATIONAL AND THEREFORE PRODUCTIVE METHOD OF PERCENTAGE-WISE REDUCTION OF ALL MAJOR COMPONENTS OF COMBAT POTENTIAL IN THE AREA. SUCH METHOD WILL ALSO WORK TO DISPEL MISAPPREHENSIONS AS TO POSSIBLE UNEQUAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES THAT ANY PARTY MIGHT OBTAIN. IN OTHER WORDS, IT WILL CORRESPOND TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL PARTIES.

MR CHAIRMAN,

THE BASIC MOTIVATION BEHIND THE PRESENTED VIEWS AS WELL AS BEHIND THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, PUT FORWARD BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND IS OUR KEEN INTEREST TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS IN THE TALKS AND IN THIS WAY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION AS WELL AS TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE IN THE WORLD.

I HOPE THAT MY REMARKS WILL DULY CONVEY OUR DESIRE TO COOPERATE WITH ALL DELEGATIONS IN TACKLING THE PROBLEM FACING US, IN A PRAGMATIC MANNER IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CONCRETE AND MEANINGFUL RESULTS.

END TEXT

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